DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 200 669 UD 021 310

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TITLE A Practitioners' Guide for Achieving Student Integration in City High Schools.
INSTITUTION TDR Associates, Inc., Newton, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Nov 80
CONTRACT 400-78-0062
NOTE 48p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Role; *Change Strategies; *Desegregation Methods; Desegregation Plans; *Educational Environment; *Educational Practices; Faculty Integration; High Schools; Multicultural Education; Racial Attitudes; *School Desegregation; Secondary Education; Student Attitudes; Teacher Role; Urban Schools

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report is to review school practices and school environment characteristics that can be promoted in order to achieve student integration in desegregated urban high schools. A research project conducted to study alterable characteristics related to student outcomes is described. School practices that were identified as sources of school integration are discussed including: (1) racial mixing; (2) faculty integration; (3) school safety; (4) staff support for integration; (5) multicultural exposure; and (6) student perception of equal treatment of all groups. School climate characteristics that were identified as facilitating student integration are also reviewed, including: (1) school members' involvement in school activities; (2) staff receptivity to student concerns; (3) an emphasis on learning; (4) friendship; (5) ability to solve problems; (6) uniformity of treatment and opportunity; (7) positive group membership; (8) open expression of ideas and feelings; (9) established goals; (10) student participation; (11) student choice; (12) fair regulations; and (13) a challenging atmosphere. An improvement process is outlined by which a school can change its integration practices and better its climate characteristics. (APM)

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A Practitioners' Guide for Achieving Student Integration in City High Schools

ED200669

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The National Institute of Education
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Washington, D.C.

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A PRACTITIONERS' GUIDE FOR ACHIEVING STUDENT INTEGRATION IN CITY HIGH SCHOOLS

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with

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November 1980

This publication was prepared with funding from the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Education, under contract no. 400-78-0062. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of NIE or ED.

FOREWORD

This monograph blends good practice and sound research in offering constructive guidelines by which practitioners can promote student integration in their schools. In the authors' view, the "what" of improved student integration is grounded in six school practices and 13 "climate" characteristics that research has shown can be altered by practitioners. The authors suggest specific school activities that can positively affect these practices and characteristics, and offer a nine-step process for putting these activities into practice.

The usefulness of this monograph lies mainly in its not-so-common *common sense.* Although many practitioners might already know intuitively much of what is contained here, the monograph can serve to reinforce their understandings of and commitment to better integrated schools.

Different readers may find one or another aspect of the authors' arguments more or less persuasive, depending upon their previous experience and local school situation. They may also find that changing some variables related to school integration presents more of a challenge than does changing others.

Although the monograph is both constructive and useful, the thoughtful reader will want to carefully consider certain points the authors have made. It should be borne in mind that the results of the authors' study are based on correlational analysis. Although highly significant correlations between the school practices/climate characteristics identified by the authors and student integration were found, the reader must be cautioned that correlation does not prove causality. Further, the authors' proposals hinge in large part upon their identification of school factors designated as "alterable," that is, within the control of local school authorities. They suggest that the most effective avenue for local school authorities in improving student integration is to concentrate efforts and funds on these alterable elements and to avoid involvement with elements that are beyond their control.

Clearly, the authors are optimistic about the future of desegregation in American high schools. They sincerely believe that no school desegregation effort can be successful without the involvement of local school personnel. And without this involvement, no action of the courts, the school board, and the central administration can prevail. It is refreshing both to see confidence expressed in the efficacy of local school efforts and to encounter some past-due practical information being made available.

With regard to the six school practices that are discussed, the first practice, *racial mixing,* is extremely important, particularly since the authors recognize and control for the possibility of resegregation within desegregated schools (which can undercut the very intent of desegregation). Racial mixing is something readily under the control of the school. *Multicultural exposure* through programs is also important, not only to integration, but also to education in general. I believe that *staff models,* on the other hand, is of lesser importance than the authors accord it, because staff make-up and interpersonal behavior are frequently beyond the control of a particular school. The presence or absence of staff models should not be, in my opinion, a precondition for student inte-

gration. *Security* is an important psychological issue, but it must also be recognized as increasingly unalterable given the history of segregation and racist socialization that high school students generally bring with them. This is probably why turmoil and conflict are found most frequently when desegregation occurs at the high school level, and it underscores the importance of early desegregation. *Staff support for integration,* although a significant factor, is also likely to be either present or absent when desegregation occurs, and it thus may also be unalterable. Finally, *racial fairness* as perceived by students, while a nice notion, may be approached but never reached, and even if reached, may never be perceived. The absence of a sense of being discriminated against may be a better way of presenting this idea.

The 13 school climate characteristics, also conducive to school integration (regardless of the racial or national origin minority composition of the student body), may perhaps be more readily manipulated. Such notions as involvement, expressiveness, goal direction, order, challenge, influence distribution, and sense of community are essential to *any* good school and are preconditions for a positive learning orientation.

In my opinion, some of the authors' "alterable" factors may, in fact, be unalterable, and some of the authors' "unalterable" factors might be alterable on a systemwide basis. Although I fear that there are more "unalterables" for children desegregated for the first time during the high school years, the steps and concerns outlined here have increasing promise for junior high and senior high school integration.

The nine-step integration improvement process presented by the authors is a useful outline for the implementation of change, although I believe it falls short on the potential problems in terms of predispositions and organizational structures that would inhibit the quest for change. It also fails to address the issues of informed consent and the problems of voluntary participation in surveys. Readers must keep in mind that each school district is a unique environment in which the six school practices and 13 school climate characteristics interact differently. Readers wishing to use the nine-step process outlined in this monograph must remember that they must apply the information gathered to their *unique* school setting.

It was my overriding intention to be constructive in pointing out problems that I have with this monograph. And despite my somewhat negative tone, I firmly believe that this monograph, as is, is a very important document of immediate practical use to the field. Readers wishing to pursue issues raised in this monograph in further detail should refer to the report on which the monograph is based, which contains the full research study, its technical appendixes, and a fuller description of the improvement guidelines for practitioners. This report can be obtained by writing directly to Dr. William J. Genova or Dr. Herbert J. Walberg, TDR Associates, Inc., 385 Elliot Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02164, or by calling (617) 969-0651.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is not possible to adequately acknowledge here the many individuals who contributed to the research study on which this monograph is based and to the monograph itself. Nevertheless, we wish to recognize a few special individuals.

The student integration questionnaire used in the research study was based on instruments developed in previous TDR studies, authored primarily by George B. Thomas and Bradford L. Matthews, both of TDR Associates, Inc. For this study, Mr. Matthews expanded the research base of the questionnaire and contributed to its further development. The data collection and data feedback to the participating schools were conducted by Steven Arnoff, Irene L. Carew, Melvin S. McCoy, Sarah Melendez, and Marjorie H. O'Reilly, all of TDR Associates, Inc. Ms. Carew also conducted the literature review for the section of this monograph dealing with school activities related to student integration practices. The computer work was done by Mary Hyde (Harvard University), and the report was typed by TDR staff member Joni Herson.

Special recognition and thanks are also extended to the many school and state department of education personnel and consultants who participated in or advised on the study.

Many persons who did not participate in the actual research study or in the writing of the final report nonetheless made valuable contributions to the development of this monograph. These include Dr. Ronald D. Henderson and Oscar Uribe of the National Institute of Education, whose personal support and encouragement for the entire project have been inestimable. Their contributions are greatly appreciated. But please note that full responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations of study data rests solely with the authors.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Desegregated urban high schools vary considerably in the extent and quality of relations among students of different races and national origin backgrounds. In some schools, race and national origin diverse students interact freely and openly with one another in friendly and supportive ways; in other schools, they tend to avoid one another, and when they do interact, their contact often is unfriendly, hostile, or even violent. Such differences are difficult to explain. As Nancy St. John stated in 1973:

> . . . research on racial attitudes and behavior in schools indicates that desegregation sometimes reduces prejudice and promotes interracial friendship and sometimes promotes, instead, stereotyping and interracial cleavage and conflict. An outcome so variable must be affected by circumstances other than the mere fact of desegregation.[1]

What are some of those "other circumstances?" And once identified, which ones can schools manipulate in order to reduce prejudice and promote integration?

Some factors known to affect racial attitudes and behavior in schools are tied to home, neighborhood, and community experiences.[2] For example, family socioeconomic status and prior interracial experiences have been found to be related to students' racial attitudes and behavior. However, since these factors are beyond a school's control, for the purpose of this discussion they are termed "unalterable." Similarly, student-teacher ratios, student racial percentages, and school budgets usually are beyond the control of urban desegregated schools, since typically they are determined by court order or the district administration. These factors are also termed "unalterable."

In contrast, most schools *do* have control over the use of multicultural curriculum, internal groupings of students, and fair and equitable treatment of students regardless of race or national origin. These factors are thus termed "alterable" characteristics of desegregated schools, and it is these characteristics that are the focus of this monograph.[3]

The specific purpose of this monograph, then, is to identify alterable characteristics of urban desegregated high schools that are related to student integration. Student integration is defined here as the extent to which students of different race and national origin backgrounds know and get along with each other. More precisely, student integration consists of: (1) the extent to which students are correctly informed about significant aspects of people of other race and national origin groups; (2) the extent to which students have positive feelings toward interracial association; and (3) the extent to which students report positive interracial association.

The research on which this monograph is based identifies six school practices (racial mixing, staff modeling, security, staff support for integration, multicultural exposure, and racial fairness) and 13 school climate characteristics (involvement, accessibility and receptivity, learning orientation, sense of community, dealing with problems, equal treatment, grouping, expressiveness, goal direction, influence distribution, options, order, and challenge) as sources of school integration.

These practices and characteristics are discussed in chapter 2 of this monograph. Chapter 2 also offers a nine-step process for those interested in improving high school integration. This process involves: (1) taking the initiative; (2) forming a representative school improvement team; (3) developing a team work plan; (4) setting a clear purpose; (5) collecting assessment data; (6) analyzing and interpreting assessment results; (7) developing a school improvement plan; (8) implementing the school improvement plan; and (9) evaluating the impact of the effort on the school. Chapter 3 of this monograph presents some background data on the research study from which the school practices and climate characteristics were developed and on which the suggested improvement process is based.

2. MEASURING AND IMPROVING STUDENT INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS

This chapter begins with a discussion of six school practices as factors related to student integration. These school practices have been derived from existing research, where they were identified as alterable factors related to positive race relations. The appendix lists the sources of evidence for the effectiveness of these practices. The extent and quality of student integration also appear to be related to the general "climate" of a school.[4] The concept of school climate, often used by educators, is defined in this chapter as 13 specific aspects of a school. These 13 "school climate characteristics" have been derived from studies of different types of organizations and then adapted to the school environment.[5]

The school integration practices and school climate characteristics, all of which are significantly related to student integration, are alterable; that is, they are under the control of a school to improve and maintain at high, positive levels. The magnitude of their association with positive student attitudes and behaviors varies, suggesting that efforts in some will have greater effect than in others.

The chapter also includes a nine-step process guide to putting these activities into practice in a school. The process, as described here, is carried out by a student-staff-parent team that works in concert with the school administration and with established student, teacher, and parent organizations. These procedures place the locus of change for improved integration within a school, and specify the nature of support and resources necessary.[6] The limiting conditions are the degree of concern and interest by the schools in improving student integration and school climate, and the readiness of school people to invest the time and effort that is required to make these improvements.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION PRACTICES

Racial Mixing: The extent to which students of different racial and national origin minority groups associate in learning, social, and recreational activities.

Allport (1954) demonstrated that contact between racial groups leads to reduced prejudice if such contact is prolonged, is between equals in the pursuit of common goals, and is sanctioned by those in authority. Since 1954, others have also demonstrated that racial mixing promotes positive interracial attitudes and behaviors, and in some cases, promotes improved student achievement.[7] Schools can establish or maintain constructive racial mixing through the use of cooperative learning teams.[8] Successful approaches each contain the essential elements of multiracial cooperative learning teams interacting for an extended period (at least 6 weeks) on learning tasks, with rewards being given to team members for their group product.

Interracial association and acceptance have been observed less systematically for decades in athletic teams, in social and recreational activities, and in racially mixed one-to-one activities. Cooperative learning teams and these other activities that promote student integration all share the characteristics referred to by Allport. They also structure interdependencies among students from various race and national origin minority groups, and they feature cooperative group rewards. Thus, students share in task-oriented efforts on equal-opportunity terms, and they acquire information that enables them to individualize rather than stereotype.

Simply desegregating schools and classrooms does not in itself create such interracial dependencies and shared rewards. But creating learning teams that are mixed by race, national origin, sex, and varying achievement levels, and that incorporate constructive cooperation, does promote student integration.

Racial Fairness: The extent to which students perceive that people of different race and national origin minority groups are treated equally in the school.

Most students enter school with the expectation, derived from and reinforced by their parents, that they will be subject to a uniform application of school rules and discipline regardless of their race or national origin backgrounds. There are, no doubt, many instances where such expectations are reasonably met.

However, in many urban desegregated secondary schools, minority students, as well as disadvantaged white students, are overrepresented in lower achieving and lower status "tracks," are "disciplined" more, have higher suspension rates, receive less positive reinforcement, receive lower average course grades, and are steered into less promising futures by guidance personnel.[9] The results in these situations are student and parent confusion, anger, hostility, and alienation, which eventually worsen as students who act out their frustrations are pushed farther to the "bottom" of a school's many ladders.[10]

Indeed, students' perceptions of racial fairness are strongly associated with positive attitudes and behaviors toward other race and national origin minority groups. A school can gauge the extent of racial fairness by examining the distribution of students of varying race and national origin minority groups according to: (1) course grades, (2) disciplinary action, (3) service by guidance personnel, (4) types (and status) of programs enrolled in, and (5) membership in school activities. If the percentage of students in each of these categories is widely disproportionate to their percent distribution by race and national origin minority groups in the school, it is hard to imagine that racial fairness prevails.

If racial unfairness prevails, and if higher levels of fairness are desired, the teachers and administrators of the school must place a high value on improving the situation, be trained in the skills and understandings required to bring about improvement, and support an organization and reward structure that reinforces racially fair practices. If constructive change is to occur, improved racial fairness must be treated as one part of a total school improvement strategy consisting of several mutually reinforcing components. For example, the effective use of cooperative learning teams will contribute to improved racial fairness by giving equal opportunity, equal status, and equal rewards to each team member. Providing integrated staff modeling, school security, and

equitable discipline will also contribute to improved racial fairness. Thus, a school must not attempt simply to improve racial fairness, but to include it as a part of a multiple-component approach to school improvement.

Staff Support for Integration: The extent to which students perceive that their teachers and administrators promote supportive interracial association, and acknowledge and deal effectively with race and national origin minority differences.

Support for, neutrality toward, or opposition to desegregation and integration is demonstrated to students repeatedly by what the school staff say and do on a day-to-day basis. Support, neutrality, or opposition is also demonstrated by the board of education, parents, and the surrounding community. The positions taken by these various groups are mutually influential, and may form a chain of reactions from the "top" down.

The extent and quality of student integration depends, in part, on clear policy in support of peaceful school desegregation from boards of education, superintendents, and principals.[11] Top-level support for desegregation assures that staff will be backed up when faced with resistance or conflict. Top-level support is also required for the allocation of resources necessary to promote student integration. There is also some evidence that broad-based involvement of staff and community in the planning of desegregation and integration practices is required.[12]

Principals' attitudes and efficacy seem especially critical as models for supportive teacher attitudes and efficacy.[13] In newly desegregated schools, many white teachers tend to be overwhelmed by race and national origin differences, socioeconomic differences, and disparities between the achievement levels of minority and middle class white students. In this situation, it is critical that the principal:

- Clearly establish and communicate acceptance of desegregation;
- Set student integration as a high priority goal; and
- Translate that support into effective school programs.

A program that will promote student integration must have several coordinated thrusts that are deliberately planned, monitored, and altered as the situation demands.[14] Teachers, upon whom the burden of carrying out specific activities of the program components falls, typically require inservice training to accomplish these tasks effectively.[15] Because minority and white teachers alike tend to favor white middle-class students in classroom questioning and reinforcement practices,[16] one of the more difficult tasks is for teachers to give equal, positive reinforcement to minority students.

Continuous, visible support and guidance for the activities in a student integration program are required of the principal if the effort is to be successful.[17] Turnage advocates a school improvement role for the principal that includes training and skills in human relations, group process, and

organizational dynamics.[18] Her research reveals that effective principals performing a change agent role require power status, derived from either court order or the district administration.

Security: The extent to which students feel safe in and around the school in their associations with students of different race and national origin minority backgrounds.

The principal's role appears also to be critical in establishing security, defined here as safety from harassment, threats, theft, or bodily harm. Students who report feeling safe in their associations with students of varying race and national origin minority backgrounds also show more positive interracial attitudes and behaviors than do students who report feeling unsafe. According to a major congressional study, student crime and disruption are more likely to occur in large urban secondary schools, especially those in cities and neighborhoods having high crime rates.[19] Yet even in these settings, the schools found to be most effective in providing security and safety for students and staff are those in which:

- The principal establishes an equitable structure of order and is visible, active, and effective in dealing with violence and disruption;
- A highly representative governance system fosters acceptance of rules and regulations by the majority of school members; and
- An incentive structure exists in which students perceive and value the rewards provided for learning.

Order, representative governance, and incentives for learning are all related to school security, which in turn is related to the extent and quality of student integration. The typical response to student disruption and violence is, however, to focus primarily on tightening controls. Because such a limited approach is likely to make the situation worse, a more extensive explanation follows.

Sound school security, irrespective of racial concerns, requires the establishment of sound policy and procedures regarding acceptable and unacceptable behaviors.[20] Where a school draws the line is a matter of local judgment and values, based on humanistic and legal principles. In an *Education U.S.A.* special report,[21] a survey of 400 school districts revealed a wide variation in what are considered acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in schools across the country. According to the responses to the survey, the type of behavior that warrants "extreme disciplinary measures" varies from district to district. Despite local variation, however, the degree to which the policy and procedures are "firm, fair, and consistent" appears to be the key to the reduction and management of disruption and violence in schools.[22]

Though essential, the establishment of a sound discipline program is, by itself, not only incomplete, but can be dangerously misleading. Many schools create a "myth of coercive control"[23] in overemphasizing rules and regulations and in swift and efficient punishment of all infractions. Likewise, many educators unwittingly adopt a "repressive approach" that traps them into a self-defeating cycle.[24] The danger is that a school can appear to be "successful" in controlling student behavior, yet actually create an environment of oppression that "alienates the students yet further from the school and its educative purposes."[25] Typically, the result is a self-defeating cycle in

which overemphasis on rules breeds more resentment and defiance; this leads to more rules, which, in turn, breed more defiance—until the school's main preoccupation is with control rather than teaching and learning.

Staff Modeling: The extent to which adequate ratios of white and minority adults make up the school staff and associate openly, cooperatively, and with equal status.

Clear guidelines as to what "adequate" ratios of white and minority staff might be are not provided through research evidence,[26] although some researchers suggest 20 percent to 80 percent white as an outer range.[27] It appears that, at some point, having too few staff members of any group can promote isolation and stereotyping.[28]

Beyond the sheer ratios of white and minority staff, the extent and quality of their interactions appear to have profound effects on student integration. Specifically, staff provide role models that students imitate. For example, if white and minority staff avoid each other, argue or are in conflict, or ignore student racial conflict, students will likely follow their example.[29] Likewise, lack of after-school interaction among students of different races often mirrors that practice among teachers.[30]

Further, minority staff need to have equal status to the majority staff in the school. Minority students need to see adult members of their own race and national origin minority group in positions of power and authority. If they see adults of their own race and national origin minority group mostly or exclusively in low-status jobs, they will see themselves as having low status in the school. Thus, it appears that when the majority staff have more power and prestige, they tend to adversely affect the self-esteem, confidence, and anxiety levels of minority students. Without adequate staff role models, minority students are less likely to integrate with majority students on an equal plane.

Typically, an urban school has limited control over the proportion of minority group staff that it has because such decisions are often shared with district-level personnel. However, a school can evaluate the extent and quality of interracial association among its existing staff and can make improvements where warranted. Such changes are unlikely to occur by chance, and, like the other improvements advocated here, require leadership, training, and persistent effort.

Multicultural Exposure: The extent to which students study and discuss unique and common aspects of the history and culture of various race and national origin minority groups.

An "Anglocentric" focus is traditional in American public schools. This focus derives from a long history in which the public schools were viewed as a primary mechanism for socializing immigrant and lower class children to conform to the norms and expectations of a society dominated by Anglo-American institutions and values.[31] However, the omission of the histories and achievements of American minorities from school texts and curriculums is now generally recognized as inappropriate to the goals of integration. Many schools have introduced multi-

cultural materials and studies into their regular program, but the effects of such materials have not been clearly or consistently demonstrated.[32]

Several researchers have shown that a multicultural curriculum can contribute to a climate of mutual respect and to minority students' sense of identity and self-worth.[33] However, many differing approaches to multicultural education are in practice, with differing effects. If the approach is primarily cognitive, focused on history and knowledge, its effect on student attitudes and behaviors is marginal. One major review indicated little or no effect from multicultural texts or from class discussions of race.[34] Others have found that multicultural exposure can have positive effects on students' attitudes and behaviors, if it also involves direct interracial contact in a cooperative setting.[35] Such interaction is apparently necessary because it adds an affective dimension to the experience, more closely associated with attitudes and behaviors.[36]

SCHOOL CLIMATE CHARACTERISTICS

School climate has a moderate to low—but still significant—relationship to student interracial attitudes and behaviors.[37] School climate has also been shown to relate to student achievement, attendance, interest in school, vandalism, and staff morale.[38] Thus, efforts to improve school climate in the interest of better student integration are likely to improve other aspects of the school as well.

The key to identifying school-specific improvements in school climate is to evaluate each element of climate, and then to identify the reasons (causes and contributing factors) for the resulting assessments. It is extremely important to base improvements on a thorough diagnosis of the reasons for a poor climate.

In the following discussion of school climate characteristics, some examples are given from actual school cases. These experiences come from widely varying schools, and thus their wholesale adoption is not suggested. They do, however, illustrate what can be done.

Involvement: The extent of school members' interest and participation in learning, social, and other school activities.

The school climate characteristic of involvement has two basic attributes, degree and investment, which are manifested in three basic school involvement patterns.

- In some schools, there is little participation in out-of-classroom activities, and many students simply go through daily academic routines. Such schools are characterized by a general apathy, reflected in a "flat" school climate profile in which the ratings for the various school climate characteristics show little variation. In schools with an overall apathy, improvement usually does not occur.

- In other schools, there is high actual participation in a variety of school activities, accompanied by low psychological investment. In such schools, activities tend to be highly teacher-directed, and interest and enthusiasm can be improved by increasing student participation in planning and conducting school activities.

- Still other schools have high actual participation and high, genuine psychological investment. In these schools, students tend to be highly involved in planning and conducting many of the school's activities.

Accessibility and Receptivity: The availability and openness of school members to conversation, and assistance about concerns.

In some schools, students feel that it is difficult to find teachers, administrators, or guidance counselors who have time to provide assistance or are willing to talk about students' concerns. This may reflect general avoidance, or it may reveal other problems in the school.

For example, in one school, teachers, angry with the salary provisions of their new contract, adopted an attitude of minimal work. The principal, through extended negotiations with faculty, found ways of reducing corridor and lavatory patrol duties in exchange for increased time for teacher-student assistance outside the classroom.

In another school, the school-to-home bus schedule created a problem. Most students took the early bus, which left 10 minutes after the last class, and avoided the late bus, which left 90 minutes after the last class. With only 10 minutes available, only a few students could see teachers for extra help. The majority, thus frustrated, rated the teachers low on accessibility and receptivity. By delaying the early bus by 20 minutes, and advancing the late bus by 30 minutes, the situation was vastly improved.

Learning Orientation: The extent to which learning and acquiring academic, vocational, and interpersonal skills are emphasized in the school.

In many secondary schools, students believe that getting good course marks is more important than learning. In one such school, it was decided that the school's reward system encouraged this attitude. In this school, so much was made of marks that students actually shoved each other to view the rank-in-class list posted in a display case within hours of each grading period. Also, elaborate drill sessions were conducted by teachers to prep students for the SAT and other college board tests.

Most of the pressure for good marks was traced to the families in this upwardly mobile town. Therefore, a parent-student-staff committee was formed to analyze and advise on the matter. The key element of its recommendation was a "learning contract" approach for individual students, coupled with a parent information program.

Community: The level of friendship and mutual support school members feel toward each other.

School size and sense of community are closely related, and large schools tend to be seen as more impersonal than small schools. Recognizing this situation, many larger schools have grouped students into smaller units (termed "houses" or "clusters"). In some schools, these smaller units are made up of members of one grade level, while in others, members from all grade levels are represented. Although forming subunits allows for more of a sense of community within the units, it could result in isolation from the total school community. Some schools have ameliorated this problem by scheduling more activities that mix subunits, such as athletic and social activities.

In other schools, regardless of size, many teachers conduct classes in a rather impersonal or unfriendly manner. This forces students and teachers to associate primarily with their peers, and results in a low level of community spirit. Some schools have improved their sense of community by increasing student-teacher interaction in after-school activities that foster more personal associations. Other schools have improved their sense of community through more meaningful, total school-community activities.

Dealing with Problems: The extent of identifying, analyzing, and resolving school problems when they arise.

Schools that have improved their capacity to resolve problems when they arise have focused on communications and special task groups. Adequate communications among all members of the school are essential in identifying problems before they grow more serious, in developing a sense of belonging, and in letting school members know what is happening. In many schools, word spreads faster about problems than about solutions, leaving one to wonder if anyone is doing anything about them. This adversely affects morale, and lowers the sense of community.

If the burden of dealing with problems falls exclusively on the principal and assistant principal(s), there is a severe limit to the possible responses and their effectiveness. A few people can do only so much (especially administrators, who have innumerable other duties). Some schools have extended their problem-solving capability by forming special task groups to deal with problems and engage in future planning in such areas as curriculum and instruction, school governance and discipline, athletics and social affairs, guidance and counseling, and community relations. If the role of these groups is carefully defined, they can be empowered to take action in some areas and to make recommendations in others. As problems arise, the principal can channel them to these groups for resolution or advisement.

Equal Treatment: The uniformity of school members' opportunities and treatment in the school.

Equal teacher treatment focuses on equity in assigning student course marks, teacher assignments, and group status, irrespective of race or national origin. Schools with no regard for

equal treatment typically have problems only with certain subgroups within the school. In some schools, certain minority students feel especially unequally treated. In other schools, female students or students in vocational programs feel mistreated. An effort must be made to identify which groups feel they are being differentially treated.

Once the most disaffected student groups have been identified, a representative sample can be interviewed in order to gain a more detailed understanding of the specific situations in which they perceive inequity. These students can also be included when the school develops and implements improvement ideas, which is in itself a step toward greater equity.

Groupings: The extent to which group membership is a positive or negative experience in the school.

Forming groups is a natural human phenomenon that takes on added importance during adolescence. Thus, schools should not try to eliminate groups or cliques, but instead make it possible for flexible group membership, or not belonging to groups, to be acceptable.

Several schools concerned about frozen cliques have taken remedial action in the form of heterogeneous classroom and activity assignments, more public recognition of the accomplishments of students associated with lower status groups, and diminished competition over class rank. But no appreciable improvement has been discerned. Either these interventions have been insufficient, or the phenomenon is particularly resistant to change, or both.

If groups or cliques cannot mix without conflict, group membership can be a negative experience. Schools concerned about negative groupings should probe carefully into the reasons why exclusive group membership may be especially functional or dysfunctional. It may well be that "deviant" groups, in the face of being relegated to a low status in the school as a whole, are forced into exclusivity as a way of gaining peer recognition. Low achieving students often group together, especially in a school with a focus on academic rewards. In those cases, such cliques may be opened up through efforts to raise the achievement of their members and to expand the school's reward structure beyond academic accomplishments.

Expressiveness: The extent of originality and open expression of ideas and feelings among school members.

Schools have found many ways of improving the "originality and open expression of ideas and feelings among school members." More student and staff art displays in the corridors, more classroom discussion of issues and problems, and increased opportunities for participation and leadership in student government and clubs are examples. This school climate characteristic appears to be readily amenable to change, and school members have little difficulty in identifying and implementing improvement efforts in this area.[39]

Goal Direction: The extent to which school members understand and accept what they are expected to accomplish, and are provided a framework for focusing their efforts.

Of all the school climate characteristics discussed here, goal direction is the most difficult for school members to comprehend. Two major factors contribute to this confusion. First, many students, and even many teachers, do not have an operational understanding of the term "goal." Second, many schools do not have widely acknowledged goal statements, and the existing goal statements are primarily ceremonial.

In most schools, expected accomplishments are articulated and understood only by certain school members. For example, almost any student can recite his or her schedule or explain the rules for absenteeism. But how many students can explain why they have to take American history or the reasons for studying foreign languages?

Given these ambiguities, very few schools have undertaken an effort to improve the school's goal direction. Nor have schools been given guidance in this area by researchers or policymakers. Volumes have been written on specifying instructional goals and objectives, but few have seen that the school itself can—and should—develop institutional goals. Such an effort is very time consuming and requires special training and skill.

Influence Distribution: The extent to which school members contribute to decisions regarding rules, procedures, and options.

Broad participation of students in conducting the affairs of a school, especially at the secondary level, has a dual purpose. First, as developing adults, most students want and need opportunities to exercise self-direction, leadership, and responsibility. Such experiences are vital to personal and social development. It is, of necessity, a trial-and-error process in which staff and parents must tolerate occasional irresponsibility. Staff and parents must also acknowledge students' capacity for responsibility by providing opportunities for them to contribute to decisionmaking in appropriate areas.

The second purpose is to foster sufficient "ownership" of the goals of schooling. Shared power and influence are more likely to lead to the development of students who abide by the school rules and regulations, instead of "fighting the system."

Schools interested in increasing student influence can broaden the participation of students on committees, in designing classroom activities, and in developing and monitoring the governance systems.

Options: The extent of choices available to school members regarding goals, courses, levels of challenge, and social opportunity.

Without sufficient choice, many students report feeling "boxed in" to a routine that can make school a rather mechanical experience. However, the extent of options, like sense of community, is governed largely by the size of the school: a large school has the potential for offering more options than a small school. The extent of options is also governed by the school budget, which typically is decided for a school by the district administration and board of education.

Within such constraints, however, schools have found ways to expand options as part of their efforts to improve their school climate. In some schools, additional courses have been planned and taught by teachers, students, or both together on a voluntary, unpaid basis. However, this strategy has generated conflict regarding "extra" work in schools with tight union contracts. In some schools, teachers have expanded the options within courses, developing learning contracts with students for individualized areas of interest or difficulty levels. Other schools have concentrated on expanding athletic, social and recreational activities, some of which involve holidays and vacations.

Order: The extent to which school rules, established to maintain favorable learning conditions, reflect established legal procedures and are accepted by school members.

Students' most frequent complaint in schools rated low on order is with the inconsistent application of rules and regulations. If some students are punished for certain offenses where others are not, or are, but to lesser degrees, grave injustices are perceived. Such inconsistency undermines a student's (and teacher's) respect for authority in the school and, in some cases, contributes to disorder. If the inconsistency involves a "suspect" class of students (such as a disproportionally high black student suspension rate), intergroup conflict is encouraged.

In addition to consistently applied rules and regulations, student achievement levels and their participation in designing and conducting school activities affect the level of order in a school. These factors (discussed more extensively under security and influence distribution) govern the extent to which students understand and accept that contributing to order sufficient for learning is in their best interest.

Challenge: The level of difficulty of school members' goals and tasks, and the pace of effort required.

Challenge is a school climate characteristic that is frequently and consistently perceived by *both* students and teachers as being absent in most schools. Many students want more challenging courses, but feel that teachers are reluctant to press students too far for fear of rebellion. Teachers, on the other hand, blame a lessening of course requirements, increased "easy" electives, grade inflation, societal permissiveness, and a general decline of interest in and value placed on schooling. To complicate matters, many administrators and parents blame the teachers.

Almost every school would like to improve the level of challenge provided to students. A few others would like to improve the challenge presented to teachers, in recognition that the two are probably related. A critical first step to accomplish this goal is for staff, students, and parents each to come to accept shared blame for low student challenge in their school. Without this critical first step, circular blaming rather than improvement would probably continue.

Once a substantial portion of the faculty accepts shared blame and desires increased challenge to students and faculty, there is, in some schools, sufficient momentum to reexamine course and graduation requirements, conduct inservice workshops for teachers on increasing challenge to students through individual "learning contracts," more careful grading of homework assignments, more detailed guidance regarding course-level selection commensurate with abilities, and parent education about a supportive home environment.

NINE-STEP IMPROVEMENT PROCESS

A great deal has been written regarding the difficulty of bringing about improvement in racially mixed schools in large cities. Often, attempts at change fail because they are imposed from outside the school or because of inadequate support or resources. The procedures described here place the locus of change within a school and specify the nature of support and resources necessary. With assistance from consultants, these procedures have been followed successfully in over 20 secondary schools in the past 3 years.[40]

Briefly stated, the nine steps for identifying and improving school integration practices and school climate are:

1. *Take the Initiative.* Someone in the school, whether student, teacher, administrator, school board member, or parent, must take the lead in initiating a school improvement effort. If a lasting impact is desired, the chances of success will be increased by working through the existing representative groups in the school: the student and faculty associations, the administration, the school board, and the parent association.

2. *Form a Representative School Improvement Team.* The improvement effort should be guided by an 8- to 12-member team of student, teacher, parent, community, and administrator representatives. To ensure maximum consideration of all important issues, the school improvement effort should broadly and genuinely represent the major formal and informal groupings of the whole school community.

3. *Develop a Team Work Plan.* A detailed work plan for the team, to be shared with the entire school community, should be developed. The work plan should include, at a minimum, tasks, responsibilities, and a timetable.

4. *Set a Clear Purpose.* The team should set for itself a clear purpose and outline procedures for collecting and analyzing data that will help the team achieve this purpose. The team may wish to study fully the six school practices and 13 school climate characteristics pre-

viously discussed, and to select a purpose or purposes from among the options described in that discussion.

5. *Collect Assessment Data.* Some method of collecting school data must be developed and implemented. This could involve a questionnaire administered to school members and scored according to set procedures.

6. *Analyze and Interpret Assessment Results.* The school team can analyze its results singly, or in relation to the norms developed from the sample used in the study described in chapter 3 of this monograph. The team can follow up on questionnaires with interviews and observations to extend and refine its school diagnosis.

7. *Develop a School Improvement Plan.* Based on the results of the completed assessment, the team can formulate goals and action steps for school improvement.

8. *Implement the School Improvement Plan.* Once the plan has been ratified with the existing representative groups, it can be implemented according to the preplanned action steps.

9. *Evaluate the Effort's Impact on the School.* Progress in implementing the school improvement plan and its impact on improving the school should be evaluated periodically.

The time it takes a team to complete the nine steps will vary from school to school, but most schools should plan on about 2 years. In following these steps, the school improvement team should plan to devote at least 2 hours a week for the full 2 years if the effort is to have significant effect on the school. Whether or not the team members are paid for their time will vary according to the setting. The team should have a budget of $1,000 to $2,000 for materials and data processing, and at least one team member should be skilled in data processing and statistical analysis (or the team should have access to such a person). During the first year, the team should collect and analyze data regarding all six school integration practices and all 13 school climate characteristics, and develop an improvement plan (steps 1 through 7) based on its findings. The second year (and beyond) should be devoted to implementing and evaluating the plan (steps 8 and 9).

Unless a school and the team are willing to make these minimal investments, it is recommended that the school not initiate the process described in this monograph. Without the appropriate level of commitment, a school improvement team may fail to accomplish its goals or may bungle the job and antagonize the school community. Worse yet, the effort may serve to intensify intergroup or organizational tensions that may already exist in a school. The process described here is not a panacea—no one can guarantee success in the sensitive areas of integration and school climate. But based on the success of other schools, and given a committed and supported team, school members should proceed with optimism, conditioned with a healthy respect for the risks. And although it is unreasonable to expect instant, revolutionary change, they can reasonably expect modest, incremental improvements in many aspects of the school's operations.

Step 1: Take the Initiative

In initiating an effort aimed at improving school integration practices and school climate, someone must take the lead, and that person will have to find other people who are also enthusiastic about the idea. Some members of a school community will welcome a look at the climate and integration practices of their school; others will consider it inappropriate, unnecessary, or potentially dangerous. Consider, for example, these situations. If students or parents try to initiate an improvement effort, some teachers and administrators may feel that the advocates are out to find fault with them. If administrators initiate the effort, teachers may suspect that a purge of some sort is intended. A typical form of resistance is to try to discredit the motives of the advocates of the effort.

To deal with these factors effectively, the advocates should ask themselves the following questions and take the following steps before attempting to initiate such an effort.

- Why am I interested in the integration practices and school climate of my school?

  Examine your own reasons for wanting a study of the integration practices and climate of your school. If you are interested in using an assessment to discredit another group in the school, or for other negative reasons, forget it. If you are genuinely interested in improving these aspects of your school, find others who share this interest.

- Who else might be interested in studying and improving these factors? Why?

- What are the potential benefits and risks of such an effort?

  Discuss the potential advantages and disadvantages of such an effort with members of the school's established representative groups (e.g., the student and faculty associations, the administration, the school board, the parent association).

- Do I really want to advocate a project, and who else should be involved?

  If you decide to propose such an effort, enlist the cooperation of the existing representative groups. The broader the support for the effort, the more chance it will have to overcome resistance and to have a positive impact.

Step 2: Form a Representative School Improvement Team

Those who put together a school's improvement team will have to be sensitive to the particular needs and customs of their school.

First, try to select a team that will represent the various formal groupings in the school—students, teachers, parents, administrators, and support staff (such as custodians and cafeteria workers). In some areas, community representatives (such as business and industry leaders and clergy) might be invited to join. By all means, make certain that the team reflects the race and national origin minority composition of the school.

Once you decide on the groups that should be represented, turn to the elected representatives of each group for help in choosing the persons who might best represent them. In some schools, the elected representatives of the student association may, in reality, represent only the "best" students. Additional students might be chosen who will help widen the representativeness and credibility of the team. To the extent possible, select a team that will be broadly and genuinely representative of the whole school community. The size of the team should be relatively small—no more than 12 members.

Individuals who are interested in working on the school improvement team should have time, possess analytic and problem-solving skills, and be known for being fairminded. Prospective team members should expect that approximately 2 hours a week will be required for most of the school year. Unless one team member understands data processing and statistical analysis, the team should have access to such a person.

Team members will work harder at their tasks if incentives are provided by the school. For example, students could receive course credit; that is, their work on the school improvement project could be recognized as equivalent to an elective course. Teachers could receive inservice credits. And both teachers and students could have a description of their work written up as part of their experience records. In addition, team members should be given visibility and recognition in the school community for their work.

A team leader should be selected. This person should convene meetings, set agendas, serve as team spokesperson, and coordinate the team's work plan.

Step 3: Develop a Team Work Plan

An effective team requires a detailed work plan and a division of labor. The steps presented here provide general guidance, but the team will need to lay out its own list of specific tasks to be done by certain team members within an agreed-upon timetable.

As a start, make up a calendar for the school year. Decide where you want to be by the end of the year and work backwards, writing in target dates next to the major tasks to be accomplished. Then, determine assignments and reporting procedures. The schedule for the team's meetings should be announced to the entire school. All team meetings should be open to the public, and all members of the school community should be invited and encouraged to attend.

Make sure the work plan includes frequent "check-ins" with the larger school community. The ways of checking in will vary widely from school to school. Some schools are small and close-knit, and teams will have an easy time getting the word out informally to everyone. In larger, more impersonal schools, team members may find it necessary to be constantly reminding various groups about their activities. Whether close-knit or impersonal, no school community will cooperate with the school improvement team and help it to achieve its goals unless people know what is going on and see signs of the team's progress.

If the flow of information is all in one direction (from the team to the larger school community), the odds are that any plan will fail. The team must inform, but it must also listen carefully to what people are saying about its work and about the climate and integration practices of the school. The more the team can open its deliberations to all, and the more it can make itself influenced by the people it represents, the greater its prospects for success will be.

Step 4: Set a Clear Purpose

Team members must next:

- Develop a clear understanding of the purposes of the effort in their school.
- Develop or select appropriate data gathering instruments or procedures.
- Select the level of analysis that will meet their purposes.
- Choose an appropriate sample.

The school improvement team should set a clear purpose and develop steps that will help them to achieve that purpose. Once a common purpose is agreed upon, it is recommended that a questionnaire be given to a student sample and all staff, both for data collection and to begin to create general awareness of and interest in the effort. The reason for giving the questionnaire to all staff is to avoid the suspicion that often accompanies sampling in staff surveys.

The results of the surveys can then be pursued at four levels of analysis.

- The *descriptive level* of analysis depicts how members of the school community feel about the various aspects of their integration practices and school climate. For this purpose, students and teachers "describe" the school as it affects them by rating questionnaire items.
- The *comparative level* of analysis includes descriptions, but adds to it by allowing three kinds of comparison: student and teacher perception comparisons (to identify areas of agreement or disagreement); student subgroup comparisons (e.g., by sex, race, achieve-

ment levels, program, and other student biographical items); and school-school comparisons (e.g., by using the sample described in chapter 3 of this monograph).

- The *diagnostic level* of analysis identifies factors that contribute to high- or low-rated school integration practices and school climate characteristics. This is done most thoroughly by first administering questionnaires to describe and compare the school. Members of the school improvement team then interview and observe members of the school community, looking for factors that might help explain the ratings obtained through the surveys.

- The *relational level* of analysis identifies factors that are related to the performance of students in the school. For example, student marks, test scores, and absentee or dropout records could be related to student perceptions of school climate characteristics and integration practices. This requires statistical, correlational analyses that might reveal, for example, that students with low marks or test scores perceive that they have few choices regarding courses, levels of challenge, or social opportunities. Such a correlation does not establish that low perceived options "cause" low achievement, or vice versa, but does suggest that they are somehow related. The nature of this relationship might be further revealed by interviewing and observing low-achieving students. Correlational analyses require a high level of technical expertise, for which the team will need qualified assistance.

Should the questionnaire be administered to everyone in the school or to only a sample of people chosen to be representative of everyone? The major considerations in deciding whether to use a sample or the entire school population are representativeness, cost, and school/community relations. Sampling is cheaper in dollar costs, but could create misunderstandings (or controversy) if not explained properly. Those who are chosen might wonder "why me," and those who are not chosen might wonder "why not me." Others might question the representativeness of the sample, especially those who might feel threatened by the results. It is probably best to choose a sample of students, but to administer the questionnaire to all teachers (considering their smaller numbers).

Students can be sampled in a variety of ways. You can, for example, select a sample to represent selected subgroups of students (such as first year students, boys, high achievers, or low achievers). Another way of selecting a sample is to assign every student a number and to select a sample from a table of random numbers. This statistical sampling technique is complex enough that you will want the assistance of someone familiar with it. Such a person can also help to determine the number of people required for your sample, especially if comparisons of subgroups are to be made.

Step 5: Collect Assessment Data

If you decide to use a questionnaire, you will need to schedule a time and a place for its administration, identify the people who will administer it, and reproduce an adequate number of questionnaires. Administer the questionnaires in quiet rooms to groups of no more than 40 people.

Do *not* give questionnaires to people to take away to complete, for the return rate, even for teachers, typically is low with this procedure. Members of the school improvement team might be the most appropriate people to administer the questionnaire.

Step 6: Analyze and Interpret Assessment Results

School profiles can be drawn that display all of the factors investigated in your study, thereby showing the survey results graphically. This is done simply by plotting on a graph the normalized score of each factor derived in step 5. This type of comparison may be confusing at first, but with practice, one can begin to discover explanatory patterns.

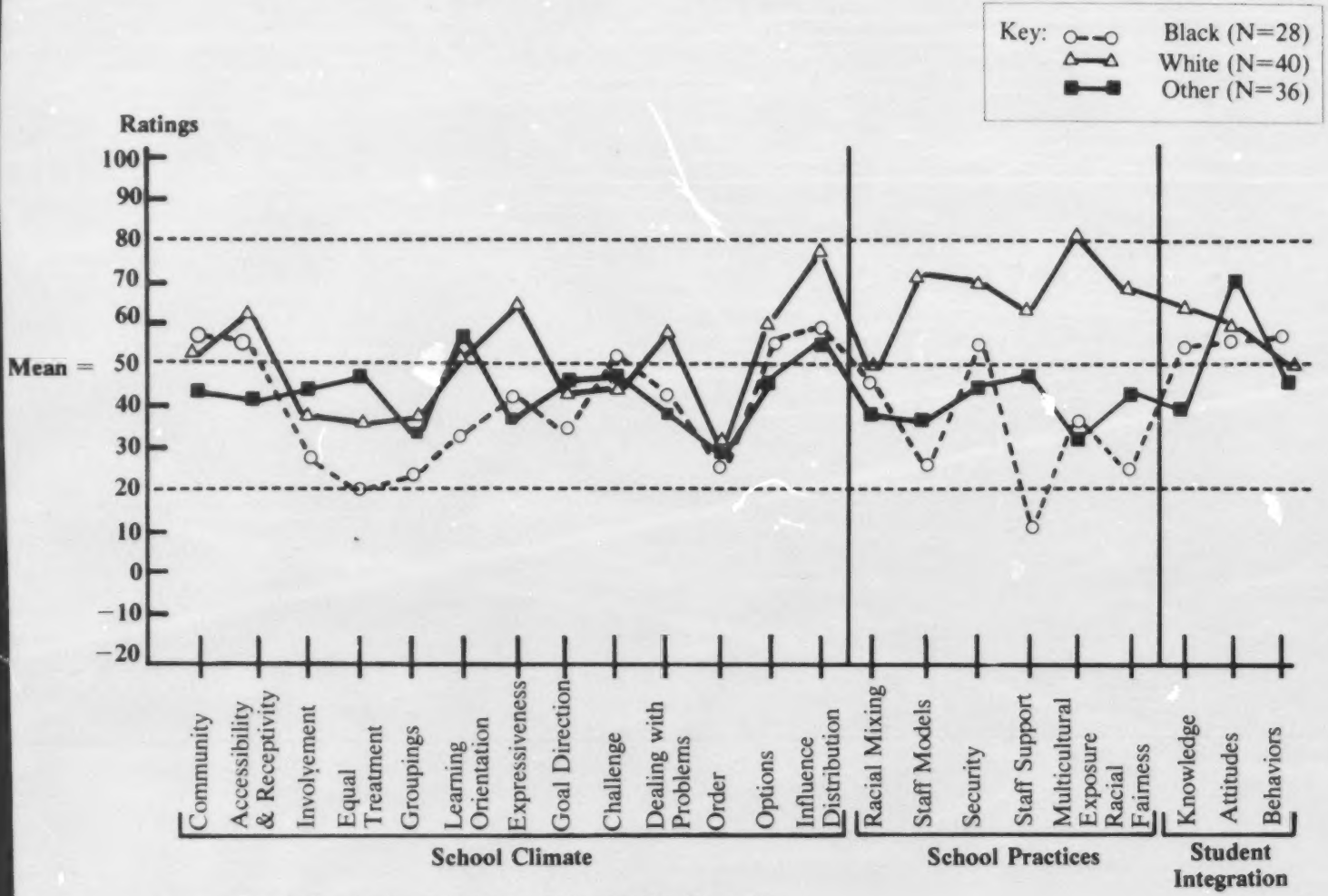
As school improvement teams analyze the survey results, they will discover that some findings merely confirm what is already known and that other factors offer clues to new insights into the school. By way of example, the school profiles shown in figures 1 and 2 display all of the factors investigated in the study described in chapter 3 of this monograph (i.e., the six school practices, 13 school climate characteristics, and three aspects of student integration). In these figures, the student ratings are represented by three racial categories (i.e., black, white, and other).

The schools represented in figures 1 and 2 show a marked contrast. The school in figure 1 is rated generally lowest by black students, whereas the school in figure 2 is rated generally lowest by white students. The black students represented in figure 1 give low ratings to equal treatment, staff models, staff support for integration, and racial fairness, yet their interracial attitudes and behaviors are above average for the total sample. In contrast, the white students represented in figure 2 show very poor interracial attitudes and below average interracial behaviors, yet they also give a low rating to equal treatment. However, the white students represented in figure 2 rate staff models and staff support for integration above average. Furthermore, the white students in figure 2 rate security very low, whereas the black students in figure 1 rate security above average.

These figures both show a relationship between how secure students feel in their schools (i.e., "safe" in interracial association) and their interracial attitudes. The white students represented in figure 2 are in a majority black school. They feel very insecure because black students control a large portion of the school turf (i.e., places like corridors and lavatories). The black students represented in figure 1 attend a majority white school but feel secure there, and this shows in their positive interracial attitudes and behaviors.

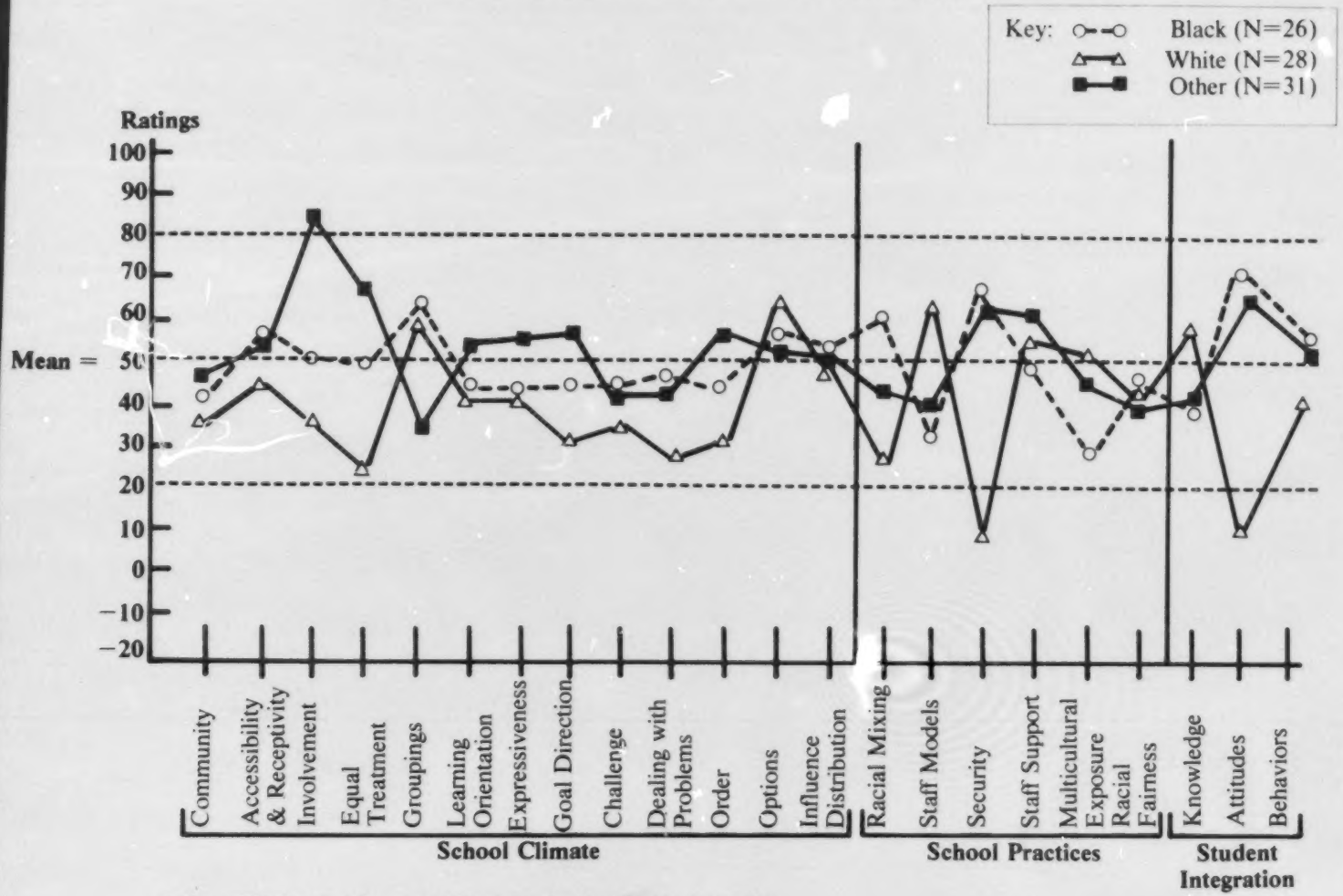
Another revealing aspect of figure 2 is the high discrepancy between the white students' interracial attitudes, which are very low, and their reported behaviors (interracial association), which are closer to average. The minority white students are, to a large extent, masking poor interracial attitudes in their mixing out of fear of exposure and reprisal. This creates a good deal of anxiety and tension for the white students, which contributes to the fact that white students in this school are the most disaffected and troublesome group (as confirmed by their lower ratings of 11 of the 13 school climate factors).

FIGURE 1: STUDENT RATINGS OF SCHOOL X



Source: TDR-National Institute of Education Study of Student Integration.

FIGURE 2: STUDENT RATINGS OF SCHOOL Y



Source: TDR-National Institute of Education Study of Student Integration.

Such a level of interpretation of a school's ratings is possible only by being familiar with the history and unique context of the school. Putting all clues together and discovering patterns is a challenging task of interpretation that takes time and acquired skill.

Step 7: Develop a School Improvement Plan

By now, the school improvement team should be in agreement about the areas of their school that require improvement. They should also be in agreement about factors that contribute to positive or negative ratings for each area. The next task is to brainstorm ideas for reinforcing the positive features and improving the less positive features.

Brainstorming, as a technique, encourages maximum participation by letting everyone explain his or her ideas completely *before* evaluating those ideas. Premature evaluation might silence some team members who have the germs of good ideas. Excessive competition for acceptance of an idea by the team—excessive to the point where the competition becomes more important than identifying the best ideas—should, clearly, be avoided. When your team comes to evaluating the ideas generated, judge them in terms of importance and probable success in contributing to school improvement.

Teams tend naturally to be concerned *only* with improving areas that receive the lowest ratings and to neglect the moderately and highly rated areas. One simple way of reinforcing the more positively rated areas is to periodically inform the school community of the good job it is doing in these areas. This should be done in meetings and through school newspapers or newsletter articles, *while* the school team is discussing alternative ways of improving the areas rated less favorably, which can also be reported to the school community. Done forthrightly, such an effort should help to prepare school community members to accept the team's improvement plan when it is presented to them.

Prepare a brief (two- to three-page) statement of the goals and action steps of your plan to be distributed in your school and at open meetings held to discuss the plan. Members of the school improvement team can lead these discussions, accepting and recording reactions and suggestions and further explaining the rationale behind the plan. Often, many good suggestions are generated by this procedure. In conducting these meetings, team members should avoid being too defensive in the face of criticism or succumbing to the temptation to "hard sell" the plan.

After the open meetings, the team should discuss the reactions and suggestions and then revise the plan where it feels that revision is warranted. The revised plan should be written and presented to the established school groups for approval and support—at a minimum, the student and teacher associations and the school administration.

To be successful, then, the school improvement team should:

- Inform the school members of the survey results and of the efforts of the school improvement team to develop improvement plans.

- Brainstorm alternative ways of reinforcing highly rated factors and improving the less favorably rated factors.

- Decide on which alternatives to follow, based on the team's estimate of its relative chances of success.

- Develop a written plan, in draft, that briefly describes the school improvement goals and action steps.

- Revise the draft plan based on reactions and suggestions of school members in open public meetings to discuss the plan.

Step 8: Implement the School Improvement Plan

Improvement plans can be as elaborate or as simple as the team feels is suitable to its manner of working and to the complexity of the improvements it is trying to promote. Whether elaborate or simple, improvement plans must be specific about people and times. Thus, improvement plans must be organized to answer the following questions.

- *What?* This comes first, of course, and it is a list of the improvements selected.

- *Who?* The team should look carefully at the skills and energies of its own members first. It may want to add members who possess special implementation skills (like handling conflict in groups). Some original members may want to drop off the team. In any event, the team will need to look carefully throughout the school community for individuals who can help it to implement the improvements selected. It is essential at this stage to assign specific people to specific improvements. It is also essential to provide adequate time for people who were not part of the original team to become familiar with the goals, personnel, and style of the core team.

- *When?* This is the first major test of commitment to the team's plan. If team members resist specific work deadlines, the team should very carefully consider the reasons for resistance. Unless the team is fully committed to the plan, it cannot expect others to become involved and committed.

- *Who will be responsible to whom?* First, *within the team:* Is the leader of the team the person responsible for checking on the progress of individual members? Or is some other member appointed to fill that function? Or does the group divide into small subgroups for specific tasks, each with a task leader? Second, *outside the team:* When does the team report to the school community or to the individual or group that originally set it in motion?

- *Reporting?* How will the team report its progress—internally and externally? Some suggestions include: regularly scheduled show-and-tell meetings for the whole team; a wall-chart checklist; frequent progress checks with the team's leader or task group leaders; and a written report to the team leader. The form the reporting takes is less important than its regularity and thoroughness. When the team is involved in other school affairs, every meeting will be a major effort, and checking progress may become a sore subject. But if reporting is not regular and is not subjected to hardheaded questioning, the team will neither improve its own performance nor enlist the support of the larger community.

Step 9: Evaluate the Effort's Impact on the School

Whether your school improves as a result of implementing the team's plans can be determined in several ways. No matter what method of evaluation is selected, every effort should be made to tailor it to the specific goals of the improvement plan.

One way to evaluate the impact of the effort is to readminister the same questionnaire(s) used in collecting assessment data to the same or to different people 6 to 12 months after the improvement plan has been initiated. By comparing the two sets of ratings, changes in people's perceptions can be gauged. This can be done by simple inspection or by statistical analysis of the results, if this resource is available to your team. Questionnaire readministration is the more precise way of gauging impact if your improvement plan is based on the factors measured by the questionnaire.

If the improvement plan is based more on refinements gained through interviews and observations, it would be better to evaluate its impact by a new round of interviews and observations. For example, if your plan included increasing daily student attendance to improve the level of challenge presented to students, attendance trends would be charted along with some measure of the levels of student challenge.

If the school improvement team and the school community are satisfied with the improvements made in the school, the effort might be halted for a year or two. Once such an effort is abandoned, however, it is easily forgotten. The team may consider cycling back to step 1 and making the assessment and improvement of these school factors a continuous process. Nothing remains static, especially in organizations like schools that have a substantial turnover in their membership. Consistent with this turnover, it is recommended that a new school improvement team be formed to bring a fresh look and new energy to the considerable tasks involved.

3. THE RESEARCH STUDY

From September 30, 1978, to July 31, 1979, TDR Associates, Inc., was funded by NIE's Desegregation Studies Team to conduct a research study on the alterable characteristics of desegregated urban high schools related to student outcomes. All too often, desegregating and desegregated public schools operate under certain unalterable conditions. For example, public school systems often can do very little about court-ordered staff assignments or the socioeconomic status and basic background skills of the student body they inherit during desegregation. But there are some characteristics of desegregated public schools that are more malleable, such as the use of a multicultural curriculum or the methods used to deal with race and national origin conflict among and between students. Public school staff have the ability to alter these more malleable characteristics in order to improve the school's effectiveness.

TDR's research study focused on these more alterable characteristics of desegregated high schools and examined the interaction between those characteristics and such measures of school effectiveness as student knowledge and acceptance of other races, achievement, and career and job aspirations. Desegregated urban high schools were chosen as the study sites because of the higher incidence of race and national origin conflict in high schools and because the proposed study measures were validated in high schools.

The alterable school characteristics studied were derived from existing research on desegregated schools and from a study of magnet educational programs sponsored by the Massachusetts Department of Education. Six school practices and 13 school climate characteristics were identified as alterable school characteristics and related to students' level of integration, career and job aspirations, and reported achievement (as measured by instruments developed and validated in the Massachusetts study of magnet educational programs).

Under controlled conditions, 1,484 juniors in 18 randomly selected racially mixed high schools in four cities in the Northeast were administered a questionnaire designed to elicit student attitudes and behaviors toward people of varying race and national origin minority backgrounds. The reported attitudes and behaviors were then correlated with the six school integration practices and 13 school climate characteristics.

In sum, after accounting for the effects of such control variables as family socioeconomic status and the students' prior interracial experience, all of the six school integration practices and 13 school climate characteristics showed significant correlations with student interracial attitudes and behaviors, but not with student interracial knowledge. Racial mixing and racial fairness showed the strongest correlation with interracial attitudes and behaviors. Blacks reported more positive interracial attitudes and behaviors than did whites, and girls reported more positive interracial attitudes and behaviors than did boys. The partial correlations between school practices and school climate were in the same direction for boys and girls of separate race and national origin minority groups and cities as they were for the total sample. This consistency suggests that effective school integration practices and favorable school climate were generally beneficial to all subgroups in all four cities.

A note of caution—This study is based on correlational analyses, and correlation does not prove causality. Nevertheless, significant correlation between these school practices and climate characteristics with student integration confirms other studies in which these factors have been surveyed or experimentally manipulated. Furthermore, these characteristics are alterable—they are under the control of a school to improve and maintain at high, positive levels.

SAMPLE

Central office administrators in five city school systems in three northeastern states were asked to identify schools in their cities that were desegregated and that had a white student population between 20 percent and 80 percent. Twenty-three high schools met these criteria.[41] Of those, three declined to participate in the survey because of recent racial conflicts, and two declined because the teachers' union objected to the study.

TDR staff planned to administer questionnaires under uniform, controlled conditions to approximately 80 juniors in randomly selected English classes in the remaining 18 schools, for an expected sample of 1,440. In fact, an average of 84 students in each school (1,510 students in total) responded to the questionnaire. However, 26 questionnaires (1.7 percent) were missing more than 20 percent of the responses to items or contained evidence of set responses, and these questionnaires were therefore eliminated. These additions and eliminations resulted in a sample size of 1,484, the composition of which is shown in table 1.

TABLE 1
SAMPLE CELL SIZES BY ETHNICITY AND SEX

Ethnicity	Boys	Girls	Total
Asian	29	31	60
Black	275	225	500
Hispanic	66	77	143
Portuguese	20	26	46
White	294	340	634
Mixed and Other	52	49	101
TOTAL	736	748	1,484

INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

In developing the survey questionnaire, TDR grouped questionnaire items according to independent variables (the six school practices and 13 school climate characteristics) and dependent (outcome) variables (interracial knowledge, attitudes, and reported behaviors). These variables and sample items are shown in table 2.

Control variable items (such as parents' occupation and education, and prior interracial experience) were derived from items used in previous research. The three "best" school climate items designed to measure each of the 13 school climate characteristics were selected based on item variances, correlations, and content from several items used in previous research. Items for the six school practice variables were derived from content analysis of articles describing these practices. And items for the three outcome variables were derived from an instrument developed in previous research on the outcomes of magnet educational programs in Massachusetts.[42]

Before it was administered, the questionnaire was translated into Spanish and Portuguese, and the translated versions were used with students who were more adept in those languages.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

"Out-of-school" factors known to affect interracial attitudes and behaviors were controlled in the analysis in order to measure the "pure" effects of the school integration practices and school climate characteristics on the outcome variables of interest to this study. This type of analysis, in which the effects of the control variables are removed from the correlations between the variables being studied, is called "partial correlation."

The importance of removing the effects of these out-of-school factors is illustrated in table 3, which shows the effects of the control variables and the independent variables on the outcome variables. The strongest correlation is between the control variables and student integration attitudes (.50). Actually, 66 (or 52 percent) of the 126 correlations between the 14 control and nine outcome variables are significant at the .05 level. The relatively higher correlations, those between .15 and .40, may be summarized as follows.

- The number of years of past integrated schooling of the individual student predicts integration knowledge. Past number of years of neighborhood integration, as well as present neighborhood integration and present integrated friendships outside of school, predict positive integration attitudes and behavior.

- Blacks express more positive, and whites express less positive, integration attitudes than other groups, and whites report less positive integration behaviors on their own part than do other groups.

TABLE 2
INDEPENDENT, CONTROL, AND OUTCOME VARIABLES

Independent Variables	Sample Items, Coding, or Comment
Student Perceptions of School Practices	Six items for each scale
Racial Mixing	"There are many opportunities for me to get to know students from other racial and ethnic groups."
Staff Models	"Teachers from my racial or ethnic group get along well with teachers from other racial and ethnic groups."
Security	"Most student fights have nothing to do with racial or ethnic issues."
Staff Support for Integration	"Our principal likes students of different races and ethnic groups going to the same school together."
Multicultural Exposure	"We have studied a lot about the history of people from other racial and ethnic groups."
Racial Fairness	"Teachers are equally friendly to students of all racial and ethnic groups."
Student-Perceived School Climate	Three items for each scale
Community	Students here have a lot of school spirit.
Accessibility and Receptivity	Most people will take time to listen.
Involvement	On most days I look forward to my classes.
Equal Treatment	Only the smarter students here get the best treatment (-).
Groupings	You need to be in a group to be liked in this school.
Learning Orientation	Learning is more important than marks in this school.
Expressiveness	Students discuss their ideas freely in classes.
Goal Direction	The students know the goals of the school.
Challenge	This school doesn't demand enough from students (-).
Dealing with Problems	Students here talk openly about school problems.
Order	Everyone understands the rules in this school.
Options	This school has something to offer students with many different interests.
Influence Distribution	Students help make the rules in this school.

NOTE: For clarity, most of the items selected for citation are positive indicators of the variable; on the questionnaire, however, some negative indicators were employed to reduce affirmative response set. The internal-consistency reliabilities of the outcome variables are given in parentheses.

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Control Variables	Sample Items, Coding, or Comment
Sex	Male = 1, female = 2; also analyzed separately in combination with racial and ethnic groups in some analyses.
Ethnicity	Asian, Black, Hispanic, Portuguese, White, and Other each coded as a dichotomous variable.
Father's and Mother's Educations	Elementary or high school education incomplete = 1; high school graduation = 2; further education = 3.
Father's and Mother's Occupations	Unskilled or semiskilled = 1; service, skilled, or sales workers = 2; owners, managers, or professionals = 3.
Family Intactness	Neither parent in home = 1; one parent present = 2; both parents present = 3; absent parent or guardian given same rank as one present in home.
Years of School Interracial or Interethnic Experience	None = 1; one = 2; two = 3; three to five = 4; six or more = 5.
Years in interracial or Interethnic Neighborhoods	Same as school experience.
Present School Desegregation	Students of same racial or ethnic group as respondent: most = 1; about half = 2; few = 3.
Present Neighborhood Desegregation	Same as school desegregation.
Friends Outside School	Same as school desegregation.
Percent White in School	Obtained from school records.
Outcome Variables	**Sample Items, Coding, or Comment**
Integration Knowledge (.54)	11 items such as, "Japanese Americans were held without trial in prison-like camps by U.S. government during the Second World War."
Integration Attitude (.77)	6 items such as, "It would probably bother me if several families from racial or ethnic groups other than my own moved into my neighborhood."
Integration Behavior (.74)	6 items such as, "During this school year, I have chosen to sit at lunch with students of other racial and ethnic groups."
Current Education Program	Vocational, college, and business each coded dichotomously.
Future Education Plans	College and other education each coded dichotomously.
Marks	Mostly A's = 8; mostly A's and B's = 7; mostly B's = 6; mostly B's and C's = 5; mostly C's = 4; mostly C's and D's = 3; mostly D's = 2; mostly D's and E's = 1.

- Girls report more positive integration attitudes and behavior than do boys. Girls less often report being in vocational programs and more often report being in business programs.

- The percent of whites in the school, individual parental education and occupation, and years of integrated school experience predict student enrollment in a college preparation program; college aspirations are also predicted by percent white in the school, but not by the other control variables.

By removing the effects of the control variables, the significant and partial correlations between school integration practice and school climate take on added importance. The six school integration practices and the 13 school climate characteristics incorporated in the study are all significantly related to student integration attitudes and behaviors (tables 4 and 5). These practices and climate characteristics, however, show little or no associations with the other outcome variables of the study: integration knowledge, program choice, aspirations, and marks.

Among the school integration practices, racial mixing and racial fairness show the highest controlled partial correlations with student integration attitudes and behaviors. Racial mixing shows the highest correlation with interracial attitudes (.41) and behaviors (.43). Racial fairness is close behind with correlations of .36 and .37, respectively. These correlations are quite strong, given that the effects of many "out-of-school" factors that also affect student attitudes and behaviors have been removed from this association. Staff modeling, security, staff support for integration, and multicultural exposure also show positive associations with student interracial attitudes and behaviors at high levels—comparable, in fact, to many of the "out-of-school" factors controlled for in the analysis.

Nearly all the school climate characteristics are slightly but significantly related to integration attitudes and behaviors in the expected direction when controlled for student background, prior interracial experience, and percent white in the school. The single negative correlation suggests that the extent of student cliques in the school is associated with less positive integration knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. Ten of the 13 aspects of climate—community, accessibility and receptivity, involvement, learning orientation, expressiveness, goal direction, challenge, dealing with problems, options, and influence distribution—are significantly associated with the choice of a college program, college aspirations, marks, or more than one of these outcomes.

The partial correlations between school practices and school climate are in the same direction for boys and girls of the separate race and national origin minority groups and cities as they are for the total sample. This consistency suggests that effective school integration practices and favorable school climate are generally beneficial to all subgroups in all four cities, rather than beneficial to the integration for some subgroups or cities and detrimental to that of others.

Because there are 19 independent variables, 14 control variables, and nine outcomes, there is a risk of exploitation of a few significant relationships arising by chance from many that are analyzed. To guard against this possibility, canonical and multiple correlations were computed. The canonical correlation of the causal variables with the outcomes is significant beyond the .001 level, and shows that the probability of chance relations between these sets of variables is very low.

TABLE 3
MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS OF OUTCOMES WITH CONTROL VARIABLES AND WITH BOTH CONTROL AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Control	Control and Independent
Integration		
Knowledge	.27	.35
Attitude	.50	.66
Behavior	.34	.59
Program Choice		
College	.32	.39
Business	.29	.33
Vocational	.25	.29
Aspirations		
College	.30	.36
Other Education	.17	.22
Marks	.27	.36

NOTE: All multiple correlations above are significant beyond the .01 level.

TABLE 4
PARTIAL CORRELATIONS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION PRACTICES WITH OUTCOMES

	Racial Mixing	Staff Modeling	Security	Staff Support	Multicultural Exposure	Racial Fairness
Integration						
Knowledge	.03	.13	−.02	.04	.07	−.01
Attitude	.41	.21	.31	.28	.21	.36
Behavior	.43	.25	.26	.30	.25	.37
Program Choice						
College	.15	.08	.01	.05	.07	.09
Business	−.04	−.01	.07	.01	−.01	−.02
Vocational	−.06	−.02	−.01	−.03	−.05	−.04
Aspirations						
College	.15	.08	.04	.04	.04	.05
Other Education	−.09	−.02	−.06	−.02	−.03	−.03
Marks	.07	.09	.00	.07	.06	.09

NOTE: With 1,000 degrees of freedom, correlations of .06 and .08 are, respectively, significant at the .05 and .01 levels.

TABLE 5
PARTIAL CORRELATIONS OF SCHOOL CLIMATE CHARACTERISTICS AND OUTCOMES

	Community	Accessibility & Receptivity	Involvement	Equal Treatment	Groupings	Learning Orientation	Expressiveness	Goal Direction	Challenge	Dealing With Problems	Order	Options	Influence Distribution
Integration													
Knowledge	−.03	−.03	.02	−.02	−.12	.02	.02	.01	.02	.00	−.05	−.03	.00
Attitude	.17	.21	.25	.19	−.19	.19	.17	.17	.07	.19	.10	.15	.18
Behavior	.18	.18	.22	.15	−.13	.18	.15	.15	.05	.16	.10	.14	14
Program Choice													
College	.11	10	.08	.05	−.02	.06	.06	.10	.07	.03	−.02	.05	.10
Business	−.05	−.01	−.06	−.01	.05	.00	−.01	−.04	−.03	−.01	.04	−.02	−.04
Vocational	.02	−.01	.00	−.05	.01	−.00	−.06	−.01	.03	−.03	−.03	.06	−.05
Aspirations													
College	.12	.10	.12	.03	.01	.05	.06	.07	.04	.04	.02	.02	.10
Other Education	−.08	−.05	.03	−.04	.01	−.00	−.01	−.05	−.04	−.04	−.01	.00	−.00
Marks	.03	.07	.11	.05	.01	.06	.12	.05	−.05	.07	−.01	.16	.14

NOTE: With 1,000 degrees of freedom, correlations of .06 and .08 are, respectively, significant at the .05 and .01 levels.

SUMMARY

After accounting for the effects of the control variables, all of the six school practices and 13 school climate characteristics show significant correlations with student interracial attitudes and behavior, but not with student interracial knowledge. The partial correlation between school practices and school climate are in the same direction for boys and girls of separate race and national origin minority groups and cities as they are for the total sample.

Students who exhibit positive interracial attitudes and behaviors also report extensive experience with the six school integration practices, and rate their school climate high (except for groupings, which they rate low). Thus, the schools with the most positive student interracial attitudes and behaviors are those with the highest proportion of students involved in the six integration practices and the highest proportion of students who rate their school climate favorably.

These findings do not prove causality, but the argument that these characteristics affect student integration is strengthened by many other supporting survey and experimental studies. Furthermore, these characteristics are *alterable*—they are under the control of a school to improve and maintain at high, positive levels. The magnitude of their association with positive student attitudes and behaviors varies, suggesting that some efforts will be more productive than others (table 6).

TABLE 6
DIFFERENTIAL EFFECT OF SCHOOL PRACTICES RELATED TO STUDENT INTEGRATION

Probable Level of Effect	School Characteristic	Controlled, Partial Correlation With Student Integration	
		Attitudes	Behaviors
	School Integration Practices		
High	Racial Mixing	.41	.43
	Racial Fairness	.36	.37
Moderate	Staff Support for Integration	.28	.30
	Security	.31	.26
	Staff Modeling	.21	.25
	Multicultural Exposure	.21	.25
	School Climate Characteristics		
Moderate/Low	Involvement	.25	.22
	Accessibility and Receptivity	.21	.18
	Learning Orientation	.19	.18
	Community	.17	.18
	Dealing with Problems	.19	.16
	Equal Treatment	.19	.15
	Groupings	−.19	−.13
	Expressiveness	.17	.15
	Goal Direction	.17	.15
	Influence Distribution	.18	.14
	Options	.15	.14
	Order	.10	.10
	Challenge	.07	.05

NOTE: Correlations of .06 and .08 are, respectively, significant at the .05 and .01 levels.

APPENDIX

EVIDENCE ON SIX SCHOOL PRACTICES RELATED TO STUDENT INTEGRATION FROM PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Source	Racial Mixing	Staff Models	Security	Staff Support for Integration	Multicultural Exposure	Racial Fairness
Allport (1954)	x			x		x
Barber (1968)	x		x			
DeVries (1974)	x					x
Forehand et al. (1976)	x		x	x		x
Gordon (1966)	x					x
Lechat (1973)	x	x		x	x	
Mack (1978)					x	
Mercer National Study Multicultural Evaluation (1976)	x	x			x	x
Patchen et al. (1973)	x		x	x		x
Pietras (1978)					x	
St. John (1975)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sachdeva (1973)	x					x
Scholfield (1977)	x					
Shosteck (1977)		x				
Slavin (1977)						x
Stephan (1978)	x					
Weinberg (1977)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Williams (1976)	x					

SOURCE: TDR Associates, Inc., study of the alterable characteristics of desegregated urban high schools related to student outcomes. The report on this study can be obtained by writing to Dr. William J. Genova or Dr. Herbert J. Walberg, TDR Associates, Inc., 385 Elliot Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02164.

NOTES

1. St. John, Nancy H., "School Racial Context and the Aspirations of Ninth Graders," Unpublished paper, 1973, p. 85.

2. The public school is limited in its influence on a student's racial attitudes and behaviors. Many other public and private institutions also play a role, as does the nuclear family. For the purposes of this study, factors that are beyond the control of the public school are termed "unalterable," and factors that most schools do have control over are termed "alterable." However, since unalterable factors do affect student integration, their effects are controlled for in the analysis.

3. Our experience and review of previous studies indicate that school practices such as racial mixing and multicultural exposure do affect the extent and quality of student integration in schools. By focusing on characteristics that schools *can* control, our research can have practical application in guiding school improvement efforts aimed at improving relations between students of different race and national origin backgrounds.

4. See, for example: Henderson, R.D., and M. von Euler, "What Research and Experience Teach Us About Desegregating Large Northern Cities," *Clearinghouse for Civil Rights Research,* 7(1), 1979; Gay, G., "Viewing the Pluralistic Classroom As a Cultural Microcosm," *Educational Research Quarterly,* 2(4), 1978, pp. 45-59; Brookover, W., et al., "Elementary School Social Climate and School Achievement," *American Educational Research Journal,* 15, 1978, pp. 301-318; Genova, W.J., *School Climate Handbook, 1976-77,* Massachusetts: Department of Education, Bureau of Research and Assessment, 1977.

5. Genova, W.J., *School Climate Handbook, 1976-77,* Massachusetts: Department of Education, Bureau of Research and Assessment, 1977.

6. These procedures have been followed successfully in measuring and improving school climate—with consultant assistance—in over 20 secondary schools in the past 3 years.

7. Allport, Gordon W., *The Nature of Prejudice,* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954. See also: DeVries, D.L., et al., *Biracial Learning Teams and Race Relations in the Classroom: Four Field Experiments on Teams-Games-Tournaments,* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, 1977; Slavin, R.E., and N.A. Madden, *School Practices That Improve Race Relations: A Reanalysis,* Report #264, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, Center for the Social Organization of Schools, 1978.

8. Cooperative learning teams are typically groups of four to six students of different racial backgrounds, achievement levels, and sex that are assigned learning tasks varying from rote memory to problem solving. Several kinds of cooperative learning techniques have been developed and tested in actual classroom practice. In a technique called "Teams-Games-Tournament (TGT)," teammates study together and help each other to learn academic material. At least once a week, the members of each team compete with members of other teams in simple academic games to gain points for their respective teams. This competition, the games tournament, takes place between students of approximately equal past achievement. In this way, each student has an approximately equal and substantial chance to contribute to the cumulative score of his or her team. A weekly newsletter contains team standings and recognizes students who have made outstanding contributions to their team scores. TGT is the most thoroughly researched of the techniques used that involve cooperative learning teams. It is also the only technique now available for which positive impact on academic achievement as well as on interracial attitudes and behaviors is documented. The impact of cooperative learning teams on interracial attitudes and behaviors is observed regardless of whether the teams compete.

Several variations of cooperative learning teams have also been found to promote positive race relations in schools. Aronson et al. (1978) used an approach called "Jigsaw Teaching" in several elementary classrooms in Austin, Texas. Wigel et al. (1975) used a more general team technique and found increased cross-ethnic helping behavior in mixed black, Chicano, and Anglo secondary school classes in Denver, Colorado. Slavin (1977) used a technique called "Student-Teams-Achievement Divisions" to increase cross-racial liking and helping in a Baltimore, Maryland, junior high school. Genova and Madoff (1975) and Thomas et al. (1977) observed improved student integration in part-time

magnet educational programs that featured intensive, cooperative team efforts. One particularly successful effort sent interracial teams of city and suburban students into that city to learn public transportation routes and to interview people along the way and at certain public facilities. When the urban minority students realized that their street savvy was appreciated by suburban whites, most of whom were fearful of the city, their esteem and initiating behavior soared, and special interracial bonds were established that endured and deepened throughout the program. In contrast, other programs that merely mixed students by race and national origin for individual student or teacher-directed activities had small or even negative effects on racial attitudes and behavior.

For further information on these techniques, see: Slavin, R.E., and N.A. Madden, *School Practices That Improve Race Relations: A Reanalysis,* Report #264, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, Center for the Social Organization of Schools, 1978; Johnson, D., and R. Johnson, *Learning Together and Alone,* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975; Wigel, R.H., P.L. Wisner, and S.W. Cook, "The Impact of Cooperative Learning Experience on Cross-Ethnic Relations and Attitudes," *Journal of Social Issues,* 31, 1975, pp. 219-244. Slavin, R.E. "How Student Learning Teams Can Integrate the Desegregated Classroom," *Integrated Education,* 15(6), 1977, pp. 56-58; Genova, W.J., and M.K. Madoff, *Evaluation Report: Metropolitan Cultural Alliance Education Project,* Newton, Mass.: TDR Associates, Inc., 1975; Thomas, G.B., et al., *The Characteristics of Part-Time Educational Programs That Best Achieve Integration Outcomes and School Impact,* Newton, Mass.: TDR Associates, Inc., 1977; Aronson, Elliot, *The Jigsaw Classroom,* Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1978.

9. See, for example: St. John, Nancy H., *School Desegregation Outcomes for Children,* New York: Wiley, 1975; Hillman, S.B., and G.G. Davenport, "Teacher Behavior in Desegregated Schools," Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Conference, 1977; Nevas, S.R., "Factors in Desegregation and Integration," *Equal Opportunity Review,* 1977; Gordon, L., *An Acculturation Analysis of Negro and White High School Students: The Effects of Social and Academic Behavior on Initial Close Interracial Association at the Secondary School Level,* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University, 1966; Forehand, G.A., et al, *Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation,* Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1976.

10. Briggs, W., "From Isolation to Integration in the Classroom," *Integrated Education,* 16(5), 1978.

11. St. John, Nancy H., *School Desegregation Outcomes for Children,* New York: Wiley, 1975.; Nevas, S.R. "Factors in Desegregation and Integration," *Equal Opportunity Review,* 1977.

12. Gordon, E.W., and C.R. Brownell, *Preparation of Publications on Progress in Compensatory Education and Desegregation Programs,* New York: Columbia University, 1972.

13. Forehand, G.A., et al., *Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation,* Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1976.

14. Strickler, J., "A Model for Curriculum Intervention in the Desegregation-Integration Process," Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, 1974.

15. Hillman, S.B., and G.G. Davenport, "Teacher Behavior in Desegregated Schools," Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Conference, 1977.

16. See, for example: Jackson, G., and C. Cosca, "The Inequalities of Educational Opportunities in the Southwest: An Observational Study of Ethnically Mixed Classrooms," *American Educational Research Journal,* 11(3), Summer 1974; Rosenthal, R., and L. Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupils' Intellectual Development,* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.

17. Forehand, G.A., et al., *Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation,* Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1976.

18. Turnage, M., *The Principal As Change-Agent in Desegregation,* Chicago, Ill.: Integrated Educational Association, 1972.

19. *Violent Schools—Safe Schools: The Safe School Report to the Congress,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1978.

20. *Violent Schools—Safe Schools: The Safe School Report to the Congress,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1978.

21. Jones, J.W., *Discipline Crisis in Schools: The Problem, Causes, and Search for Solutions,* National School Public Relations Association, *(Education U.S.A. Special Report),* 1973.

22. *Violent Schools—Safe Schools: The Safe School Report to the Congress,* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1978, p. 10.

23. Metz, M.H., *Classrooms and Corridors: The Crisis of Authority in Desegregated Secondary Schools,* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1978, p. 244.

24. Howard, E.R., and J.J. Jenkins, *"Improving Discipline in the Secondary Schools: A Catalogue of Alternatives to Repression,"* ERIC Document: ED 087 090, 1974, p. 1.

25. Metz, M.H., *Classrooms and Corridors: The Crisis of Authority in Desegregated Secondary Schools,* Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1978.

26. The research on optimal ratios of white and minority students is also unclear.

27. Pettigrew, T., Report to the Honorable Judge Paul Egly in response to the minute order of February 27, 1978, *Crawford v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles,* 1978, case no. 822-845, Los Angeles County Superior Court.

28. St. John, N.H., *School Desegregation Outcomes for Children,* New York: Wiley, 1975: Gordon, E.W., and C.R. Brownell, *Preparation of Publications on Progress in Compensatory Education and Desegregation Programs,* New York: Columbia University, 1972.

29. Forehand, G.A., et al., *Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation,* Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1976.

30. Gordon, L., *An Acculturation Analysis of Negro and White High School Students: The Effects of Social and Academic Behavior on Initial Close Interracial Association at the Secondary School Level,* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University, 1966.

31. See, for example: David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education,* Harvard University Press, 1974.

32. Mercer, J.R., "Adolescent Prejudice: A Commentary," Paper prepared for the National Invitational Conference on Adolescent Prejudice and Its Implications in the Schools, Berkeley, Calif., 1976.

33. See, for example: Banks, J.A., Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, San Francisco, Calif., 1978; Cortes, C.E., Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, San Francisco, Calif., 1978; and Gay, G., *Differential Dyadic Interaction of Black and White Teachers With Black and White Pupils in Recently Desegregated Social Studies Classrooms: A Function of Teacher and Pupil Ethnicity,* Final report, Austin, Tex.: Texas University, Austin, 1974.

34. See, for example: Slavin, R.E., "How Student Learning Teams Can Integrate the Desegregated Classroom," *Integrated Education,* 15(6), 1977, pp. 56-58; Slavin, P..E., and N.A. Madden, *School Practices That Improve Race Relations: A Reanalysis,* Report #264, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, Center for the Social Organization of Schools, 1978.

35. Forehand, G.A., et al., *Conditions and Processes of Effective School Desegregation,* Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1976; Thomas, G.B., et al., *The Characteristics of Part-Time Educational Programs That Best Achieve Integration Outcomes and School Impact,* Newton, Mass.: TDR Associates, Inc., 1977; Genova, W.J., and M.K. Madoff, *Evaluation Report: Metropolitan Cultural Alliance Education Project,* Newton, Mass.: TDR Associates, Inc., 1975.

36. The foregoing is not an argument against the use of multicultural exposure, but rather an argument for the inclusion of a strong experiential component. For example, cooperative learning teams, field trips, participation in cultural events,

clubs, social events, and assembly programs all offer activities that may be combined with multicultural education. For further guidelines on multicultural education, see: Forehand, G.A., and M. Ragosta, *A Handbook for Integrated Schooling*, Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1976, pp. 83-88.

37. Our study has demonstrated this fact, and it supports other studies as well as the intuitive observations of many practitioners and lay observers of schools.

38. Moos, R.H., and B.S. Moos, "Classroom Social Climate and Student Absences and Grades," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1978; Brookover, W., et al., "Elementary School Social Climate and School Achievement," *American Educational Research Journal*, 15, 1978, pp. 301-318; Genova, W.J., and H.J. Walberg, *School Climate Handbook, 1976-77*, Massachusetts: Department of Education, Bureau of Research and Assessment, 1977.

39. It is important here to understand and recognize the difference between expressiveness and disruption. As defined here, expressive behavior is a constructive part of the learning and development process. Sometimes, what students may label as "expressing myself" is (intentionally or unintentionally) disruptive to learning.

40. In following these procedures, we strongly recommend that a school have inside or outside assistance from a person or persons skilled and experienced in "organizational development" in schools. As used here, organizational development refers to the application of behavioral science knowledge for increasing the organizational health and effectiveness of a school.

41. These schools are in Massachusetts, where the study was conducted.

42. Thomas, G.B., et al., *The Characteristics of Part-Time Educational Programs That Best Achieve Integration Outcomes and School Impact*, Newton, Mass.: TDR Associates, Inc., 1977.

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1981 -723-573/695